

---

## Western Biases and Assumptions as Impediments in Counselling Traditional Chinese Clients

---

Oye-Nam Christine Wong

Niva Piran

*Ontario Institute for Studies in Education*

---

### Abstract

The paper highlights particular assumptions and biases which underlie Western approaches to counselling and offers guidelines to revising these assumptions in counselling Chinese clients. In communication styles between Chinese and Western cultures, as well as the greater emphasis within the Chinese culture on interdependence, family relations, and the community. These differences relate to varied expressions of presenting symptomatology and to communication challenges within the counselling dyad. Counsellor's familiarity with their own assumptions as well with the Chinese culture will enhance counselling interventions.

### Résumé

Cet article souligne spécialement les hypothèses et les tendances qui sous-tendent les approches occidentales en counseling et offrent des lignes directrices pour réviser ces hypothèses lors d'intervention en counseling auprès de clients chinois. Cet article discute principalement des différences de style de communication sur le plan verbal et non verbal entre la culture chinoise et la culture occidentale, et aborde aussi le concept d'interdépendance qui est plus présent dans la culture chinoise, dans les relations familiales et la vie communautaire. Ces différences sont reliées à la variété avec laquelle les symptômes sont exprimés et les difficultés de communication à l'intérieur de la dyade de counseling. La conscientisation de ses hypothèses personnelles par le conseiller en plus de sa compréhension de la culture chinoise amélioreront les interventions de counseling.

The importance of addressing frequently held assumptions which underlie Western counselling theory and practice has been highlighted by major contributors to the field of multicultural counselling. D. W. Sue (1981) highlighted the importance of examining these assumptions in the training of counsellors. His contention was that "the counseling profession must move quickly to challenge certain assumptions that permeate our training programs" (1981, p. 20). Pointing to the relevance of these unexamined assumptions to racism and other forms of cultural bias, Pedersen (1987) discussed ten examples of Western cultural bias which he found to emerge consistently in the literature regarding multicultural counselling.

This paper looks at the implications of specific Western cultural assumptions and biases to the counselling of Chinese clients. The discussion and clinical examples are based on the first author's counselling experience in Britain, Hong Kong and Canada; and the second author's counselling experience in Canada, for over a decade, as well as on a review of relevant literature. The purpose of this paper is aimed at guiding counsellors in the counselling process.

Clinical examples, with specific references to traditional Chinese culture, will be used to support Pedersen's comments on the assumptions of Western theory and practice which include: assumptions regarding normal behaviour, dependence on linear thinking, emphasis on individualism, overemphasis on independence, neglect of client's support systems, fragmentation by academic disciplines, the use of abstract language, focus on changing the individual, neglect of history, and dangers of cultural encapsulation. Three related areas, namely nonverbal communication, locus of control and assertiveness will be addressed as well.

### *The Concept of Normal Behaviour*

Pedersen (1987) notes that Western counselling theory assumes that all people share a common measure of "normal" behaviour regardless of their racial, cultural, social, economic and political backgrounds. Further, he argues that "anything can be right or normal if judged by its own idiosyncratic standard" (Pedersen, 1987, p. 17). In accordance with Pedersen's view, what constitutes "normality" is quite different between Anglo-American and Chinese cultures. While the paper as a whole will serve to highlight differences between what is "normative" within the two cultures, an example may clarify the central role that the assessment of "normality" has in guiding the process of counselling.

According to the Chinese culture, it is common and normal for a middle-aged son or daughter to live with elderly parents even after he or she is married. The concept of "filial piety" expresses the obligations children have to their parents throughout life (Chu & Sue, 1984). Moreover, living in a foreign country with limited language skills and mobility increases the dependence parents have on their children (Kwan & Wong, 1991b). In Britain, Hong Kong and in Canada, it is therefore very common to find adult children living with their parents. However, in light of the Western emphasis on independence, this interdependence of members in an Asian extended family may be perceived by non-Asians as being unusual. When an adult Chinese, living with his or her parents, presents for counselling, the counsellor needs to explore the way the family, as well as the individual, function before inferring difficulties in client or family. Cultural, socioeconomic and political factors have to be explored and understood before forming a diagnostic impression. A well informed counsellor is more likely to derive accurate diagnoses and make appropriate counselling recommendations.

### *Nonverbal Communication*

Nonverbal behaviour is an aspect of the process of communication. It usually consists of the signals of timing, pitch, and emphasis in particular, and other nonverbal signals independent of the verbal content. Nonverbal communication normally operates out of awareness of the encoder

and it is difficult to manipulate or falsify. Therefore, nonverbal communication has greater impact than words, particularly in revealing emotions (Wolfgang, 1979).

In forming a diagnostic impression, and in the process of counselling, nonverbal cues carry important information. For example, Waxer (1984) argues that “nonverbal signs of depression include poor eye contact, with depressed clients tending to gaze down and away from the therapist, down-turned mouth, head angled down and an absence of hand movement” (p. 230). However, these nonverbal signs could result in erroneous diagnostic impression of Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Thai and other Asian clients. In these cultures, it is considered impolite to gaze at others and eye contact tends to be short. The angling down of the head reflects respect for people in authority. While the above difference in nonverbal communication may lead to overdiagnosis of certain difficulties in Chinese clients by Western counsellors, underdiagnosis may occur as well. Chinese people rarely use excessive gestures, as this behaviour is considered improper, particularly between a male and a female. A Western counsellor may fail to recognize the degree of distress conveyed by Chinese clients due to their more restrained style. Western counsellors of Chinese clientele should therefore become familiar with their client’s nonverbal communication and check with their clients for the meaning of particular gestures.

Likewise, counsellors must be aware that their nonverbal behaviour is culturally and socially bound and may be misinterpreted by Chinese clients. Kwan and Wong (1991a) and Wolfgang and Wolofsky (1991) found in their research that Chinese subjects, compared with Western subjects, had greater difficulties in accurately decoding disapproval and other negative behaviours generated by Westerners. The effect was particularly pronounced for Chinese women. In her clinical practice, the first author (Wong) has found that even though she is Chinese, she has to be aware of her subtle adoption of Western nonverbal gesture when she works with Chinese clients. Otherwise, negative feelings may be generated due to the possible misinterpretation of the counsellor’s communication style. She therefore tends to make her nonverbal behaviour an explicit topic of discussion, as she deems useful. She may explain to a client that, related to her Western training and place of residence, she may have acquired some Western nonverbal behaviours. For example, looking at the client while listening or waiting for an answer reflects paying attention to him or her. Or in a group setting, she may explain that the gesture of putting the hand with the tips of the thumb and index finger touching to form a circle means “pause.” These explanations would both prevent the occurrence of misinterpretation and also invite clients’ queries regarding communication styles and other misunderstandings.

*Verbal Styles: Abstract Words, Feeling Words and Metaphors*

Traditional counselling theory is based on standard English. Pedersen (1987) noted that Western counsellors tend to use abstract words in their theoretical formulations and practice. However, outside the Western cultural context, these words lose their meaning. It is important to translate these abstract ideas into Chinese with a good knowledge of the Chinese culture. For example, the Rogerian conditions of “congruence” and “incongruence” describe similarities between external expressions and internal experiences. However, in the traditional Chinese culture, a state of incongruence may be associated with an inadequate moral stance. It is also important to clarify that “acceptance” does not mean “agreement.” Furthermore, “empathy” may be explained as “putting oneself in the other person’s situation.”

Similar to the use of abstractions in describing varied theoretical approaches to counselling, verbal elaborations of abstract feeling states, such as “depression” or “anxiety,” often typify presenting complaints of Western clients (Frank & Frank, 1991). These communications also demonstrate the tendency towards the separation of feelings and cognitions in the Western culture. Chinese clients’ common expression of intense inner experiences through metaphors, which are embedded in Chinese idioms or poems, reflect another communication style and possibly a more holistic approach to one’s experience (Nguyen, 1992). An example of such a metaphor, expressed in a group of Chinese clients, is included in the following idiom: “A mute boy eats yellow lotus seeds [a bitter taste], nowhere could he express his grievance.” The pain and frustrations of the client who cited this metaphor were conveyed to the counselling group in a powerful way. When the counsellor can appreciate the expressed emotions and reflect them, more room is given to group members to further express and explore their emotions (Wu, 1982). Appreciation for this way of expression also aids in establishing rapport. Multicultural counsellors have to be sensitive and receptive to clients’ metaphors rather than look for abstract feeling words such as “pain” or “frustration.” In addition, due to the Chinese preferred way of expressing emotions, art work, music and movement (with young children) may be useful tools in counselling.

*Linear versus Circular Thinking*

Western counselling theory is embedded in a linear way of thinking, namely: a one-to-one relationship between cause and effect. However, dominant Chinese philosophies such as Taoism and Buddhism follow the circular model of thinking, whereby events may occur and disappear within and across generations as part of the process of life, fate or destiny. In addition, causes and effects cannot be differentiated (Chang, 1973; Kwan & Wong, 1991b). Therefore, counsellor’s acceptance of the client-

counsellor relationship as being part of destiny, can help establish rapport and confidence in the relationship with some Chinese clients. Interventions which may be perceived as interrupting the natural process of life, which involves both luck and misfortune, could be resisted. In these instances, help may be accepted only in acute crisis. Other clients may experience the linear approach to causality in Western counselling as oversimplified. They may question, for example, an assumption that parenting has been deficient if a child drops out of school. According to the Taoist and Buddhist perspective, a presenting problem may reflect a punishment from God for a violation of a moral norm committed by any member of the family, including ancestors.

### *Individualism and Independence versus Collectivism and Interdependence*

Individuals are seen as the basic building blocks of society in both Western and Chinese cultures. However, in the Western culture emphasis is put on the development of individuals and their independence (Pedersen, 1987) and the values of obligation and duty to the family or other social units seem to be downplayed (Usher, 1989). In contrast, in the Chinese culture there is emphasis on interdependence and collectivity (Bond & Hwang, 1986; Bond, 1991; Koss-Chioino & Vargas, 1992) while the harmonious development and functioning of the nuclear and extended family, as well as larger communities and society at large, carry major importance (Bond & Hwang, 1986; Sue, 1981). The Chinese nuclear and extended family involve clear role differentiation and structure and the importance of the individual is determined by his or her role in the family structure (Tsui & Schultz, 1988). These differences have relevance both to the goals and process of counselling.

In terms of the goals of counselling, Western counselling approaches focus on different aspects of individual development, such as self-awareness, self-discovery, self-fulfilment and self-direction (Fromm-Reichman, 1960; Rogers, 1951, 1961, 1980; Schwaber, 1981). The goals of counselling for the Chinese, on the other hand, focus on interdependence and harmonious relations. Not only would an exclusive emphasis on individual development be seen as too self-centred, but sharing family obligations is a virtue in Chinese families which composes an aspect of one's self identity as well as status within the family. The counsellor, therefore, has to appreciate the "delicate balance . . . between the [client's] growing sense of independence and the ongoing traditional family- and cultural-role expectations" (Boehnlein, 1987, p. 526) and accept and respect the important co-existence of strivings both for individuality and for family obligations and commitment.

In terms of the process of counselling, the differences between Chinese and Western values suggest that familial issues may carry a larger role in the counselling of Chinese clients. This greater involvement may

vary from putting a greater emphasis on understanding the client's family and the client's role within the family to actually involving the family directly in one or more aspects of counselling. An example may serve to clarify the relevant issues. A twenty-year-old male Chinese client, residing in a Western culture, was struggling to achieve independence from his parents and expressed this struggle by refusing to communicate with his parents on any personal concerns. He sought Western counselling, which focused on him exclusively with limited results. He was therefore referred for culturally conscious counselling. The counsellor (C.W.) offered to see the family and assess its dynamics before focusing exclusively on the individual. As anticipated, a pattern was found in the family whereby the more the client tried to isolate himself for the sake of independence, the more the family tried to get close to him as a reflection of their concern, a duty in Chinese families. Thus, a vicious cycle developed which reinforced the client's isolation. Paying respect to the family and its role in resolving difficulties resulted in greater familial understanding and acceptance of the individual's needs. It also relieved the guilt experienced by family members for not getting involved more forcefully as they believed they were expected to do. The client could then maintain his status and connections within the family without sacrificing his struggle for independence.

#### *Locus of Control: Internal versus External*

In Western counselling, the uniqueness, independence and self-reliance of the individual are underscored, and the focus is on changing the individual rather than on changing the surrounding system (Pedersen, 1987). In the traditional Chinese culture, success is seen as related to situation and luck, in addition to individual efforts, and importance is placed on the group, tradition, social roles and harmony with the universe. Also, challenging people in authority is particularly frowned upon. Due to their minority status, traditional Chinese people in Canada often experience subtle or overt ethnoracial discrimination which may accentuate their sense of powerlessness. Accordingly, it has been found in North America that while Anglo-Americans display a tendency towards an internal locus of control, traditional Chinese and other ethnic group members display a tendency towards an external locus of control (Hsieh, Shybut & Lotsof, 1969; Levenson, 1974; Strickland, 1973; Tulkin, 1968; Wolfgang, 1973). A Western counsellor's interpretation of traditional Chinese clients' passivity as reflecting apathy, laziness, depression, or avoidance, may therefore be erroneous and potentially destructive. Moreover, the counsellor may have to take on the role of an advocate of mental health needs as an aspect of his or her counselling work.

*Individual Assertiveness in the Chinese Context*

In their review of the Western concept of assertiveness, Kwan and Wong (1991b) conclude that the trait of assertiveness is not encouraged in the Chinese culture. They view this trait as reflecting the competitive and aggressive nature of the American socio-economic system. In contrast, the Chinese culture highlight the virtues of modesty and gentleness. Inappropriate behaviour in public is considered to reflect negatively on the family. Taking on a developmental perspective, Chu and Sue (1984) suggested that Asians may tend to lack a validation of self when compared to people raised in more individualistic Western societies, which in turn fosters a concern for the collective, a courtesy towards authority, and the maintenance of the hierarchy and status (Ishiyama, 1989; Johnson, Marsella & Johnson, 1974). The practice of good manners and modesty attempts to promote harmony between individuals by eliminating potentially threatening interactions between people. Toupin (1980) states that the rejection of verbal aggression, direct expression of one's feelings, and confrontations all serve to confirm collectivity and harmony. The Chinese word *han* encompasses the notion of group harmony by rejecting any emotion or behaviour that may place one above others (Toupin, 1980). In an analogue study asking students to report possible reactions to social encounters varying in the degree of familiarity with the other person, Zane, Sue, Hu and Kwon (1991) found that the cultural hypothesis regarding lower assertiveness in Asian Americans was only supported in Asians' encounters with strangers. One may question the relevance of the study to the counselling situation where an imbalance in power and authority typically exists, a dimension which was not explored in the study. Nonetheless, one could consider not only the encounter with the counsellor, but also the encounter with the Western approach to counselling, an unfamiliar situation for a traditional Chinese client.

Western counselling, with its emphasis on verbalization and confrontation of internal and interpersonal conflict, can be very stressful for the Chinese client. Difficulties may be accentuated in group treatment (Toupin, 1980; Tsui & Schultz, 1988). Chu and Sue (1984) state that "Asians tend not to interrupt another or push to make their point. . . . In a group of very verbose, articulate, and aggressive non-Asians, the Asian member may be hesitant to speak up" (p. 30). In a group composed exclusively of Chinese clients and conducted in Chinese by the first author, Wong found that clients did not interrupt one another and that clients relied on linguistic and nonverbal speech and cues signalling the end of a member's speech before sharing their own experience. This was done both out of respect for the speaker and out of a wish to give the speaker an opportunity to convey his or her experience fully before introducing another point. Had the group been conducted in English, it would have deprived the members of the important linguistic cues of when to join

the conversation. A mixed group composed of members whose mother tongue was other than English and members whose first language was English would put the first subgroup at a disadvantage.

Another observation about a Chinese counselling group conducted in Chinese, was that members had indeed shared and confronted their internal and interpersonal conflicts. However, for that to occur, a safe environment had to be created. In line with the recommendations of Chu and Sue (1984) regarding the creation of a safe atmosphere, the counsellor had to take a more active stance, explaining the roles of client and counsellor, and the process and rationale of counselling. Chinese clients may expect some directions from the counsellor in the counselling process due to the perception of his or her expertise and authority. The process of psychoeducation can include an explanation of the importance of expressing concerns in the group or of learning to listen to each other and of relating others' experiences to one's own experiences. Since advice-giving is seen favourably in the Chinese culture, it may be advisable to suggest to group members that advice-giving or teaching may put a member under pressure to change, while sharing their own thoughts, feelings or experiences may give that member a greater choice. In explaining the process of counselling to Chinese group members, the counsellor runs the risk of coming across as an "ambassador" of the Western counselling theory. Younger group members may be more open to accept these ideas because they are in a developmental process of acquiring new ideas and beliefs. Since Western counselling is alien to the Chinese culture, it is important to give members ample time to experience and to reflect about the process. As the group feels safer and connected to the process of counselling, the participants will take a more active role in the process.

#### *Neglect of Client's Support Systems*

In the Western society, counselling has become a formal and professional service. This formal counselling process with the exception of family therapy and feminist therapy, has been likened to a "purchase of friendship" whereby the natural support systems are eroded and substituted (Pedersen, 1987). As a reflection of the Western culture at large, many counsellors may feel that there is an inherent contradiction between sustaining relationships with support systems, such as one's family, and an individual's right to self-actualization. Counsellors, therefore, tend to downplay the role of family and peers in providing support to a troubled individual, and overemphasize their professional services. However, formal counselling is foreign to the Chinese culture, and personal problems tend to be discussed and handled within the family. Furthermore, the handling of personal problems outside of the family breaches the norms of privacy and honour (Toupin, 1980). Guided by client's



choices and pace, incorporating the client's natural support system into a treatment plan acknowledges the significant role of the family in the Chinese culture. Inclusion of family members during crisis times may be particularly appreciated (Ramisetty-Mikler, 1993; Pearson, 1985). Many Chinese clients we have worked with have expressed gratitude for the support they received from their families or friends during the time of crisis. Family members felt supported by the counsellor and appreciated the respect given to them and their role in helping their family member.

### *Fragmentation by Academic Disciplines*

According to Pedersen (1987), traditional counselling approaches tend to ignore other academic disciplines that may also speak to problems and issues of humanity, such as sociology, anthropology, theology and medicine. The limitations of adopting a discipline-specific perspective to counselling, for example, that of psychology, may be particularly pronounced in cross-cultural counselling. A narrow discipline-specific perspective may fail to yield a wholesome understanding of the context within which individual suffering develops, as well as the systems of symbols and rituals which are anchored in traditional belief systems, and which underlie both the symptom formation and the practices of socially sanctioned healers (Boehnlein, 1987).

For the Chinese, psychological issues may also be expressed in religious/philosophical terms. An example may serve to illustrate this point. A Chinese client kept repeating that he found it difficult to express his feelings during counselling. However, he expressed his deepest agony and guilt by referring to his Buddhist philosophy, saying: "Now I understand what is meant by 'you reap what you sow,'" which means you get rewarded for good deeds and punished for doing evil. Understanding the client's experience within his cultural context and Buddhist philosophy sensitized the counsellor to the client's perception of the similarity between the distress his child was causing him and the distress he caused to his own parents, and to the circular nature of life events. The counsellor's appreciation of this cultural/religious perspective was essential in building the trust and rapport necessary for constructive counselling experience.

Chinese clients may also present psychological distress through psychosomatic symptoms and may prefer a bodily treatment of their distress since the Western mind-body dichotomy is not upheld in Chinese philosophy (Cheung, 1985, 1986), which teaches the holistic concept of "the union of mind and body" (Tsui & Schultz, 1985, p. 563). Psychological distress related to personal adjustment difficulties may also be expressed through the presentation of relational difficulties such as intergenerational struggles or spousal conflicts (Kleinman, 1977; Kwong & Wong,

1991b). Chinese clients may find rational difficulties easier to accept and reveal than personal difficulties.

*Devaluation of National History and Overemphasis on Personal History*

Pedersen (1987) states that Western counsellors are more likely to focus on the immediate events that caused a crisis, and that clients' accounts of their past and their heritage tend to be seen as less salient. However, there are important reasons to give much room to Chinese clients to bring forth what they consider to be important information from their past history. For example, while Canadian-born Chinese may have had to deal with experiences of social discrimination, new immigrants from Hong Kong, Mainland China and Vietnam may have confronted difficulties associated with adjustment to a different culture. Chinese from Mainland China and Vietnam, in particular, may have experienced the tragedy of war or revolution and possibly the stress of residing in refugee camps. In eliciting this information, it may be vital to explain to the client why a national and personal history is conducive to an effective therapy (Kwan & Wong, 1991b).

#### CONCLUSION

In relation to a particular client, the cross-cultural therapist needs to be always aware of the normative behaviour and communication styles in the client's culture, the degree of the client's acculturation, as well as his or her own attitude and biases towards the client's ethnic community (Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992). Appreciation of the client's political and socioeconomic background may further facilitate an empathic understanding of the client's experience. This process of making explicit the biased implicit assumptions which underlie Western models of counselling is an important aspect of work towards the provision of culturally sensitive counselling. This process guides the therapist towards modifications in his or her way of relating to the client as well as in the employed approach to counselling. Cultural sensitivity, however, does not imply ignoring the client's humanity with his or her unique belief system. The way to incorporate this knowledge is not to put culture above the person, but rather to see each person as a unique individual who has developed within the context of a particular culture. Through engaging in this process of self-awareness, and of opening up to alternative worldviews, the relative position of the counsellor and counsellee changes from that of an expert and a client to that of a client who is an expert in his or her own situation (a dialogue of two beings). This practice may guard the counsellor from stereotyping the client or becoming encapsulated in his or her own worldview.

The following statements may guide the multicultural counsellors in their practice:

1. Always take client's cultural norms into consideration before making diagnoses or treatment plans.
2. Monitor the occurrences of misinterpretations of the clients' and counsellors' nonverbal behaviour.
3. Be sensitive and receptive to clients' verbal communication styles, i.e. the use of metaphors.
4. Be familiar with the impact of the traditional Chinese circular model of thinking on the understanding of the counselling relationship and of the presenting difficulties.
5. The psychological well-being of traditional Chinese clients relies on harmonious relationships and interdependence among family members.
6. Existing social structures and prejudices may limit choices for ethnic minorities.
7. Learn to appreciate the virtues of modesty and gentleness. They may be more important to Chinese clients than the experience of assertiveness.
8. Mobilizing clients' existing support systems may be a good strategy to use with Chinese clients, particularly during crisis intervention.
9. A holistic multi-disciplinary approach may be particularly effective in counselling Chinese clients.
10. Chinese clients' national and personal history should be explored to enhance the understanding of presenting difficulties.

### References

- oehnlein, J. K. (1987). Culture and society in posttraumatic stress disorder: Implication for psychotherapy. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 41 (4), 519-30.
- ond, M. H. (1991). *Beyond the Chinese Face—Insights from psychology*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- ond, M. H. & Hwang, K. K. (1986). The social psychology of Chinese People. In M. H. Bond (ed.), *The Psychology of the Chinese People* (pp. 213-66). Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- hang, C. Y. (1963). Invisible ground of sympathy. *Creativity and Taoism: A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art, & Poetry* (pp. 19-53). New York: H. Wolff.
- heung, F. M. (1985). An overview of psychopathology in Hong Kong with special reference to somatic presentation. In W. S. Tseng & D. Y. H. Wu (eds.), *Chinese Culture and Mental Health* (pp. 287-304). Orlando: Academic.
- heung, F. M. C. (1986). Psychopathology among Chinese people. In M. H. Bond (ed.), *The Psychology of the Chinese People* (pp. 171-212). Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- hu, J. & Sue, S. (1984). Asian/Pacific-Americans and group practice. *Social Work with Groups*, 7(3), 23-36.
- rank, J. D. & Frank, J. B. (1991). *Persuasion and Healing*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press (3rd edition).
- romm-Reichman (1950). *Principles of Intensive Psychotherapy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Hsieh, T., Shybut, J. & Lotsof, E. (1969). Internal versus external control and ethnic group membership: A cross-cultural comparison. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 33, 122-24.
- Ishiyama, T. I. (1989). Understanding foreign adolescents difficulties in crosscultural adjustment: A self validation model. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology*, 4(2), 41-56.
- Johnson, F. A., Marsella, A. J. & Johnson, C. L. (1974). Social and psychological aspects of verbal behaviour in Japanese-Americans. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 131(5), 580-83.
- Kleinman, A. (1977). Depression, somatization, and the "New cross-cultural psychiatry." *Social Science & Medicine*, 11, 3-10.
- Klerman, G. L., Weisman, M. M., Rounsaville, B. J. & Cheiron, E. S. (1984). *Interpersonal Psychotherapy for Depression*. New York: Basic Book.
- Koss-Chioino, J. D. & Vargas, L. A. (1992). Through the cultural looking glass: a model for understanding culturally responsive psychotherapies. In L. A. Vargas & J. D. Koss-Chioino (eds.), *Working with Culture—psychotherapeutic interventions with ethnic minority children and adolescents* (pp. 1-22). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Kwan, A. B. & Wong, O. N. C. (1991a). *A Comparison between the "Old" and "New" Chinese-Canadians in their ability to decode Anglo-Celtic gestures and its implications for counselling Chinese-Canadians*. Unpublished Manuscript. Toronto: OISE.
- . (1991b). *The impact of cultural differences on cross-cultural counselling: The Chinese in Canada*. Unpublished manuscript. Toronto: OISE.
- Levenson, H. (1974). Activism and powerful others. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 38, 377-83.
- Nguyen, N. A. (1992). Living between two cultures: Treating first-generation Asian Americans. In L. A. Vargas & J. D. Koss-Chioino (eds.), *Working with Culture—psychotherapeutic interventions with ethnic minority children and adolescents* (pp. 204-22). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Niles, F. S. (1993). Issues in multicultural counsellor Education. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 21, 14-21.
- Pearson, R. E. (1985). The recognition and use of natural support systems in cross-cultural counseling. In P. Pedersen (ed.), *Handbook of Cross-Cultural Counseling and Therapy* (pp. 299-306). Westport: Greenwood.
- Pedersen, P. (1987). Ten frequent assumptions of cultural bias in counselling. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 17(2), 62-71.
- Ramisetty-Mikler, S. (1993). Asian Indian Immigrants in America and Sociocultural issues in counseling. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 21, 36-49.
- Rogers, C. R. (1951). A Theory of Personality and Behaviour. In C. R. Rogers, *Client-Centered Therapy: Its current practice, implications, and theory* (pp. 481-533). London: Constable.
- . (1961). *On Becoming a Person: A therapist's view of psychotherapy*. London: Constable.
- . (1980). *A Way of Being*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schwaber, E. A. (1981). Narcissism, self psychology and the listening perspective. *Anal of Psychoanalysis*, 9, 115-31.
- Strickland, B. (1973). Delay of gratification and internal locus of control in children. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 40, 338.
- Sue, D. W. (1981). *Counseling the Culturally Different—Theory and Practice*. U.S.A.: John Wiley & Sons.
- Sue, D. W., Arrendondo, P. & McDavis, R. J. (1992, April). Multicultural Counselling competencies and standards: A call to the profession. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 20, 64-88.
- Toupin, E. S. W. A. (1980). Counseling Asians: Psychotherapy in the context of racism and Asian-American history. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 50(1), 76-86.
- Tsui, P. & Schultz, G. L. (1988). Ethnic factors in group process: Cultural dynamics in multi-ethnic therapy group. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 58(1), 136-42.
- Tulkin, S. (1968). Race, class, family & school achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 9, 31-37.
- Usher, C. H. (1989). Recognizing cultural bias in counselling theory and practice: The case of Rogers. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 17, 62-71.

- Waxer, P. H. (1984). Nonverbal aspects of psychotherapy: Discrete functions in the intercultural implications. In A. Wolfgang (ed.), *Nonverbal Behaviour: Perspectives, Applications and Intercultural Insights* (pp. 229-52). Toronto: C. J. Hogrefe.
- Wolfgang, A. (1973). Cross-cultural comparison of locus of control, optimism towards the future, and time horizon among Italian, Italo-Canadians, a new Canadian youth. *Proceedings of the 81st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association*, 8, 229-300.
- . (1979). The teacher and nonverbal behavior in the multicultural classroom. In A. Wolfgang (ed.), *Nonverbal Behavior: Application and Cultural Implications*. New York: Academic Press.
- Wolfgang, A. & Wolofsky, Z. (1991). The ability of New Canadians to decode gestures generated by Canadians of Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 47-64.
- Wu, D. (1982). Psychotherapy and emotion in traditional Chinese medicine. In A. L. Marsella & G. M. White (eds.), *Cultural Conceptions of Mental Health and Therapy* (pp. 285-301). Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel.
- Zane, N. W. S., Sue, S., Hu, L. & Kwon, J. H. (1991). Asian-American assertion: A social learning analysis of cultural differences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 38(1), 63-70.

### *About the Authors*

Oye-Nam Christine Wong is a doctoral candidate of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto and a Mental Health Therapist at the Child and Family Clinic of Scarborough General Hospital and at the Markham Stouffville Family Life Centre in Toronto. She is particularly interested in crosscultural counselling and research.

Niva Piran is an Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto and a Clinical Psychologist. Dr. Piran's research interests include psychotherapy research, health education and women's development.

Address correspondence to: Christine Wong, P.O. Box 423, 3125 Sheppard Avenue E., Agincourt, ON M1T 3V5, Canada.